

Walker, John. "A New Type of South Arabian Coinage",
The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of The Numismatic
Society, 1937, volume 17, fifth series, pp. 260-279 +
plate 33.

A NEW TYPE OF SOUTH ARABIAN COINAGE.

[SEE PLATE XXXIII.]

THROUGH the generosity of Miss Freya Stark, the intrepid explorer and author of enthralling books on Eastern travel, the British Museum has recently acquired twelve bronze coins with Sabaeen inscriptions of a type hitherto unrecorded. They were selected from coins which Miss Stark procured in the Hadramaut¹ during her visit there in 1936,² and which, according to information given her, were found on the way between Shihr and Tarim.

The coins were so crude-looking that at first—especially in their uncleaned state—they did not appear beyond suspicion. But a careful consideration of the details of provenance, fabric, types, and epigraphy is sufficient to substantiate their authenticity. Moreover, Dr. Plenderleith of the British Museum laboratory, who very kindly had the coins cleaned, declares that their chemical composition is similar to that of some undoubtedly ancient bronzes brought from the same region which he had examined a short time previously.

¹ The form Hadramaut is used here rather than the more accurate Ḥaḍramūt, which gives the transliteration and pronunciation of the modern Arabic name, simply because it has the sanction of long years of usage in English books of reference.

² A delightful account of her expedition, which was unfortunately interrupted by a dangerous illness, is given in her book, *The Southern Gates of Arabia*. See also *Hadramaut: Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*, by D. Van der Meulen and H. Von Wissmann, Leyden, 1932.

All the coins have been cast from a series of moulds, the junctions between each being still discernible where they had been amputated. The Museum specimens are all from different moulds. Both the obverse and reverse legends are reversed, which implies that the moulds were made direct and were not impressed from a positive.


1. *Obv.* Beardless male head to right wearing long ringlets; in field, behind head, **𐩦** (reversed) = **𐩦**; before face, downwards, **𐩦𐩦** (reversed) = **𐩦𐩦** (name of the Moon-God); all within double circle.

Rev. Eagle standing, to right, with open wings; in field left, downwards **𐩦𐩦** (reversed) = **𐩦𐩦**; right downwards **𐩦𐩦** (reversed) = **𐩦𐩦**; (bottom part of eagle and portions of the legend obliterated).

Æ; 1.85; wt. 1.126 gr. (73.0 grm.).

[Pl. XXXIII. 1.]

2. *Obv.* As no. 1, but the casting is more sharply defined and the join in the mould is discernible at the bottom. (The top of the coin has been broken off, obliterating the first letter of the name **𐩦𐩦**.)

Rev. As no. 1, but coin broken off at top and legend on left side obliterated. The bottom part of the eagle is intact and there is discernible below the talons a curved line .

Æ; 1.9; wt. 832.8 gr. (53.97 grm.).

[Pl. XXXIII. 2.]

3. *Obv.* Completely obscured by a thick band of bronze which has become fused across the flan; the double circle of the mould is all that is visible of the original design.

Rev. As no. 2, but legend as complete as on no. 1 though badly worn down; traces of juncture of mould visible at top.

Æ; 2.0; wt. 1.355 gr. (87.8 grm.).

4. *Obv.* As no. 1, but edge broken partly on right.

Rev. As no. 2, but edge broken at left, completely cutting out legend on that side.

Æ; 1.8; wt. 515.2 gr. (33.40 grm.).

[Pl. XXXIII. 3.]

5. *Obv.* As no. 1, but head larger; the legends on right almost obliterated; all within an oval; traces of juncture at top.

Rev. As no. 2, but legend almost completely effaced; outer circle. (Thin fabric.)

Æ; 2.0; wt. 324.1 gr. (21.0 grm.).

6. *Obv.* As no. 1; traces of face visible; s and r of legend on right, obliterated; mould-juncture discernible at top; holed and cut on right.

Rev. Obliterated; faint traces of eagle's right wing.

Æ; 1.8; wt. 251.5 gr. (16.3 grm.).

7. *Obv.* Small head right; in field behind, a large ⚡ = m reversed; in front, downward, 𐩧𐩨𐩣 (reversed) = sin; traces of mould-juncture at bottom.

Rev. Crude outline of eagle right; in field behind, the letters 𐩧𐩨 (reversed) = shk are just discernible; in front, downwards, traces of 𐩧𐩨 (reversed) = vsh only discernible.

Æ; 0.75; wt. 45.0 gr. (2.91 grm.).

[Pl. XXXIII. 5.]

8. *Obv.* As no. 7. [Pl. XXXIII. 4.]

Rev. Faint traces of small eagle; all traces of legends obliterated; traces of mould-juncture at top.

Æ; 0.8; wt. 50.0 gr. (3.24 grm.).

9. *Obv.* As no. 7; traces of mould-juncture top and bottom. [Pl. XXXIII. 6.]

Rev. Faint remains of eagle; the only letter at all visible is the 𐩧 (k) on left; traces of mould-juncture top and bottom.

Æ; 0.9; wt. 52.5 gr. (3.4 grm.).

10. *Obv.* Traces of head right; the only parts of the legend clearly visible are the m on left and the i on right; traces of mould-juncture at top.

Rev. Traces of eagle and Sabaeen letters; traces of mould-juncture at top.

Æ; 0.75; wt. 38.5 gr. (2.49 grm.).

11. *Obv.* As above; only m and sr visible on left and right respectively; traces of outer circle; cut at bottom.

Rev. As above; traces of mould-juncture at bottom; cut at top.

Æ; 0.8; wt. 31.0 gr. (2.0 grm.). [Pl. XXXIII. 7.]

12. *Obv.* As no. 10; on left m, and right sīn, barely discernible on the margin.

Rev. As no. 10.

Æ; 0.65; wt. 26.8 gr. (1.74 grm.).

It is clear that these coins, in all denominations, bear the same types and legends on both obverse and reverse. Both the male head (on the obverse) and the eagle (on the reverse) are no doubt derived from Hellenistic or Roman prototypes. The former, the ringleted male head, is already known on the Himyarite coins of South Arabia of the class which Hill³ dates in the first century B.C. as well as on those which he⁴ assigns to A.D. 50-150. There is the same treatment of the hair falling in ringlets at the side (see p. 264, figs. 1-3).

The eagle type is until now unrecorded on South Arabian coins, although it is to be seen on certain coins of the Nabataeans.⁵ But the latter is a different variety of eagle. The particular eagle with open wings on the

³ B.M.C. of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia, pp. 54 ff. and 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68 f.

⁵ Hill, *ibid.*, Pl. I, nos 5, 6.

present coins is also different from the Ptolemaic one, though the ponderous fabric of some of the coins themselves is very reminiscent of that of the large bronze coins of the Ptolemies and naturally suggests a parallel or relationship. My colleague Mr. Robinson, however,



FIG. 1.
(100-24 B.C.)

FIG. 2.
(First cent. B.C.)

FIG. 3.
(A.D. 50-150.)

considers that the closest numismatic resemblance to this variety of eagle type occurs on the Roman Imperial coins of Antioch⁶ or better still on certain of the Roman coins struck at Alexandria in the second century A.D.⁷

Although coin no. 1 [Pl. XXXIII. 1] is the only one on which the full legends of both obverse and reverse are intact there can be no doubt as to the accuracy of their transcription. The problem of interpretation, however, offers certain difficulties. There is no doubt about the meaning of the obverse legend to the right of the male head. It is 𐩦𐩨𐩣, i.e. *Sin*, in which we can at once recognize the national deity of the ancient

tribes of the Hadramaut in Pre-Islamic days. Just as we find on the Katabanian inscriptions the god '*Amm*, on the Sabaeen the god '*Ilmaḥah*, and on the Minaean the god '*Wadd* occupying the rôle of local folk-deity, so do we find the relatively few Hadramautic inscriptions particularizing the god '*Sin*.⁸

Sin was the god of the moon. Unlike the mythological concepts of the classical civilizations in which a sun-god and a moon-goddess were worshipped, the South Semitic races—like the Germanic—considered the moon as a male and the sun as a female deity.⁹

The important rôle played by *Sin* the moon-god as "Father of the gods" in Arabia in ancient times was no doubt largely due to the fact that to the nomadic Bedouin, who avoided travelling in the heat of the mid-day sun, the moon by night was their most reliable guide. Hence he, naturally, assumed in their eyes the place of chief deity. However that may be, we find the cult of the moon-god flourishing from very early times amongst the Semitic peoples.¹⁰ The Biblical Ur of the

⁶ D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen, 1927, i, p. 193. For inscriptional occurrences see *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, v, nos. 2693, 2704, 3952, 4180, 4182, 4207, and G. Ryckmans, *Inscr. sud-Arabs* in *Muséon*, 1937, pp. 245-9. On a stone fragment from Aden (published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, iv, 2, no. 594 bis) the god's name apparently occurs in a defective form as 𐩦𐩨 s(I)N. See also Littmann's inscription below, p. 277.

⁹ In modern Arabic the moon (قمر) is still a masculine and the sun (شمس) a feminine substantive, just as *Mond* and *Sonne* in German.

¹⁰ See article *SIN* in Roscher's *Lexicon*, pp. 883-921. We are mostly familiar with his name in connexion with the Wandering of the Israelites in the "Wilderness of Sin" (Exodus, chap. 16,

⁶ *B.M.C. of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, p. 193, nos. 347, 352 (Septimius Severus). See below p. 273, figs. 6 and 7.

⁷ *B.M.C. of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, Pl. XXV, 662, see below p. 273, fig. 8; cf. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alex.*, nos. 1191 (Trajan) and 1570 (Hadrian).

Chaldees was a celebrated centre of his devotees. "The powerful dynasties which ruled Shumer and Akkad from there in the fourth millennium had doubtless introduced the worship of their special god in every city they ruled, and by the time that the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, about 2300-2190, were controlling the river valleys from the city of Ashur in the north to the Persian Gulf, from Ur to Susa, Sin was an accepted member of the pantheon, worshipped at Babylon as elsewhere."¹¹

From the Tigro-Euphrates Valley the worship of the moon-god no doubt passed into the great Arabian Peninsula. As already mentioned above, his name *Sin* occurs on several inscriptions from the Hadramaut. But this is the first recorded instance of his name appearing on coins, although his crescent-symbol is found frequently on Himyarite and other South Arabian epigraphic and numismatic remains.¹² In view of this fact it is all the more remarkable that his crescent should be absent from the present coins though his name is written in full, unless, of course, we regard the curved line below the eagle on the reverse as being intended for that. But, as will appear below, this is doubtful.

Are we to regard the male head on the obverse as a representation of the god himself? The fact that the god's name accompanies it makes it more than probable. But it is also conceivable that the head here portrayed is meant for some king of the Hadramaut,

&c.) and the Peninsula of Sinai which still to-day perpetuates his name.

¹¹ Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 53-54.

¹² See above p. 264, figs. 1 and 2, and below p. 271, fig. 4.

whose authority emanated from *Sin*, "the King of Gods", and whose name, perhaps, incorporated that of the god in some compound form such as is common in Semitic nomenclature.

The large letter **𐩦** (M) in isolation on the left of the head is capable of several suggested explanations. It is too prominently delineated in every instance, even on the small coins, to be merely tagged on to the name *Sin* as an example of the *mimation* characteristic of this South Semitic language group (thus *SĪN^m*). We must, therefore, regard it as an abbreviation for some uncertain word. Several conjectures suggest themselves:

(a) As the initial letter of **𐩦𐩣** = MLK (*malak*), i.e. king.

(b) As denoting **𐩦𐩣𐩦** = MKRB (*Mukarrib*) the general title of the priest-king of the South Arabian monarchy. (Both of these conjectures are, however, improbable.)

(c) As standing for **𐩦𐩣** = MR' (*mar'a*), i.e. man or lord. In this case the full obverse legend should be read as M(R')SĪN, i.e. "the man or lord of (the god) *Sin*". Mar'a-Sin might even possibly be the proper name of the Hadramaut king in whose reign the coins were struck. A parallel to the phrase may be seen in a Minaean inscription published by Jausen and Savignac¹³ where the proper name **𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣** MRATWD (i.e. *Mar'atwadd*) occurs, the significance of which seems to be "the lady of (the god) Wadd". Mordtmann¹⁴ interprets the name as "Princess of Wadd" (*Fürstin*

¹³ *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris, 1914, ii, p. 290.

¹⁴ *Beiträge zur Minäischen Epigraphik*, p. 24.

des Wadd). *Mar'at* is the feminine of *Mar'a*, and as we have already mentioned above, the god *Wadd* was specially revered by the Minaeans in just the same way as *Sin* was by the people of the Hadramaut, so that the parallelism is complete. Again on a Himyarite inscription published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (IV, i, p. 295 f.) we find the name MAR'ASHAMAS (𐩇𐩣𐩆𐩣𐩆𐩣), literally "man of the sun", i.e. servant or worshipper of (the sun-goddess) *Shamas*, which is presumably used as a proper name.¹⁵ And there are many cognate examples.

(d) Perhaps the *m* is the initial letter of a place-name. Professor G. Ryckmans of Louvain, the eminent authority on South Arabian inscriptions, writes to me suggesting that it may refer to some sanctuary of the god *Sin*, e.g. 𐩇𐩣𐩆𐩣 *MSHWR*, i.e. *Mashwar*¹⁶; or that it may conceal the name of a mint-town. Longpérier, followed by Schlumberger,¹⁷ had in the same way suggested that the well-known letter *ṣ* (𐩣) on the cheek of Athena in the early Sabaeen coins was intended for the mint-signature of the town of Nejrān (𐩣𐩆𐩣𐩆 = *NJRN*). Unfortunately for Schlumberger's view, however, other isolated enigmatic letters occur on four different denominations, which would on the same analogy indicate, as Hill points out,¹⁸ that "four different denominations were issued from four different mints". This objection cannot, however, hold good in the case of these new Hadramaut coins, since the initial

letter is the same on all denominations, and therefore, whatever it represents, it cannot be a denominational abbreviation, whereas it may possibly be a mint-signature.

If, for supposition's sake, we take the letter to be a mint-initial, then M. Ryckmans suggests to me the town of *Maifa'at* (𐩇𐩣𐩆𐩣𐩆 = *MI'F*) which is known from several inscriptions.¹⁹

Whatever the significance of the letter may be it is interesting to note that it also appears in just such a position behind the ringleted head on the obverse of a small silver coin illustrated by Müller.²⁰ Whichever of the above conjectures, if indeed any of them, is the true one may never be ascertained, and we must be content to leave it thus.

If the obverse is difficult, the reverse is even more so. The values, however, of the Sabaeen characters are beyond dispute: *SHKR* / *YSHU*. The former word (*Shkr*) means "top or roof of a building",²¹ and is also known in Katabanian inscriptions as the sanctuary of the local god 'Amm.²² As part of a Sabaeen proper name it is also preserved in the translation of a tomb-inscription

¹⁹ Cf. Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, p. 343. Two places of this name, situated two days' journey apart, are known, according to the *Répertoire*, v, no. 2687, l. 4. *Maifa Metropolis* is mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geographia*, VI, vii, 41). See *C.I.S.*, IV, ii, pp. 360-361.

²⁰ *Südarabische Alterthümer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum*, Vienna, 1899, p. 69, Pl. XIV, no. 21. The coin in question, it must be remembered, shows the head facing left, since it is die-struck and not cast like the ones which we are now considering.

²¹ Conti Rossini, *op. cit.*, p. 252 (*summitas aedificii, tectum*).

²² Cf. Ryckmans, *ibid.*, i, p. 375; Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, p. 66b. "By command of 'Amm of Shkr ('Amm *dhū-Shkr*)." Ryckmans vocalizes the name as *Shkr*.

¹⁵ See K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica*, Rome, 1931, pp. 180-181.

¹⁶ Cf. his *Les Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i, p. 414 b.

¹⁷ *Le Trésor de San'a*, Paris, 1880, pp. 2, 20 ff.

¹⁸ *B.M.C. Arabia*, p. xlvii.

description is that the characters, other than Himyarite, are *Pehlevi*, and not *Arabic* in Kufic script. With this conclusion (also that of the editors of the *C.I.S.*) Prof. Herzfeld, to whom I showed the drawing, agrees, although it would require a minute examination of the original before one could try to determine any possible meaning. The Himyarite legend has been read as 𐩦𐩣𐩬𐩨 (Na'd^m)²⁷, a very rare proper name apparently, which can throw no light on what concerns us here, namely the eagle. What does, however, throw considerable light is the presence above of the crescent-symbol, the significance of which will be considered later.

(b) The Berlin gem is an onyx with an eagle surrounded by a Sabaeen legend in two lines reading (left to right) across 𐩦𐩣𐩬𐩨 𐩣𐩣𐩣 = LHM (i.e. *lahiy'amm*). The meaning is "May (the god) 'Amm make happy". It was first published by J. H. Mordtmann.²⁸

Although the eagle-type on these gems is in each case more akin in style to the one on the coins of Antioch (see figs. 6 and 7) in that its head is turned backwards, nevertheless its association with a crescent-symbol on the one hand, and with mention of the moon-god 'Amm on the other, indicates that it represents a lunar and not a solar deity, as is usually the case with the Syrian eagle. In fact, we can safely suppose that the eagle on our new coins, as well as

²⁷ So Birch and Franks, the *C.I.S.*, and Ryckmans (*ibid.*, p. 134), although Halévy in *Journal Asiatique*, V^{me} Série, tome iv (1874), p. 352, ventured to read *Dana*.

²⁸ In *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxix (1885), p. 236; and again in his *Himyarische Inschriften und Altentümer in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 1893, p. 52. Recently and more accurately it has been published in the *C.I.S.*, *ibid.*, no. 807.

on the above gems, is the eagle-god whose worship is recorded amongst the pagan Arabs before the days of Islam. In this connexion we have an illuminating passage in the Koran (Sura 71, verses 22-23), in which



FIG. 6.
Antioch
A.D. 202.

FIG. 7.
Antioch
A.D. 202.

FIG. 8.
Alexandria
A.D. 128.

certain of these deities of the *Jāhiliyya*, or Pre-Islamic period, are enumerated, although they are linked with the impious people of the days of Noah (*Nūḥ*).

According to the tradition enshrined in the Koran, these infidels plotted "and said: Forsake not your gods; forsake not Wadd nor Suwā', nor Yaghūth and Ya'ūk and Nasr" (وَلَا تَدْرُكْ وَلَا سُوعًا وَلَا يَغُوثَ وَيَعُوقَ وَنَسْرًا). Wadd we already know as the folk-god of the Minaeans. According to Arabic tradition *Suwā'* was the tribal deity of Hudhail, while Yaghūth and Ya'ūk were revered respectively by the tribes of Maḍhhij and Hamdān. But *Nasr* is the one that particularly concerns us. Most Arabic works of reference give little more concerning *Nasr* than what we already know from the Koranic passage above quoted, namely "one of the five idols which the Arabs worshipped".²⁹ He was the special deity, however, of the Himyarite clan of Dhu'l-Kalā'.³⁰ In Arabic the word *nasr* (نَسْر) means some-

²⁹ Yākūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, iv, pp. 780-781.

³⁰ Or Dhu'l-Kilā'. De Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii, p. 105;

times "vulture", but it is usually the name applicable to the eagle³¹, and as we know from other sources³² that the Arabs worshipped the eagle, it is permissible to conclude that *Nasr* was an eagle-god associated with the moon-cult, as can be argued from the evidence of the above gems and the presence of an eagle on the present coins bearing the name of the great moon-god *Sin*.

The worship of *Nasr* is said to have been introduced into the Yemen by 'Amr ibn Luḥai (a legendary chief-tain of the Banī *Khuzā'a*, who according to Arabic legend corrupted the true religion of Abraham into a form of gross idolatry). From him the cult passed over to the Himyarite tribes of the South of Arabia, where it lasted until the time of *Dhū Nuwās*, the last representative of the Himyarite monarchs, who about a century before Muḥammad earned notoriety by massacring the Christians of Nejrān.³³

The presence, therefore, in South Arabia of an eagle-cult with lunar associations is amply vouched for, and the present coins provide us with fresh confirmation.

and Osiander in *Z.M.D.G.*, vii, p. 473. In only one instance—and that perhaps accidentally—is *Nasr* construed as feminine (F. A. Arnold, *Chrestomathia Arabica*, i, p. 189, وَأَمَّا نَسْرُ فَكَانَتْ لِحَمِيرَ لَآلٍ, (ذي الكلاع) in a commentary by a writer who died in A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116) and is scarcely likely to have known any better.

³¹ See Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 2789.

³² In the *Doctrine of the Apostle Addai*, for instance, we read that the inhabitants of the town of Edessa in Syria were accused of worshipping the eagle as did the Arabs. See *Doctrina Addaei*, ed. Phillips, p. 24, quoted by W. Robertson Smith in his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 209, and by J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 23.

³³ See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, edited by Ahmed Zeki Pacha, 1924; and *Revue Biblique*, 1926, p. 410.

It is surprising, in view of the importance of the cult amongst the Pre-Islamic Arabs, that the eagle does not figure prominently amongst the animals sculptured on Sabaeen monuments so far discovered. But it has to be borne in mind that Arabia is still *terra incognita* to the archaeologist, although it is gratifying to learn that Miss Stark, the donor of these coins, is now conducting archaeological excavations in the Hadramaut. In all probability further evidence of the cult of the moon-god will be forthcoming as a result.

A curious point noticed by Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission, ibid.*, p. 400) is that the eagle is much commoner on the monuments of Medaiu Saleh in North Arabia than on those of Petra, the Nabataean metropolis, where one would expect to find it, if Dussaud's theory³⁴ be correct that the worship of *Nasr*, the eagle-god, amongst the Arabs was an echo of the Syrian cult of the sun-god. Although Jaussen and Savignac dispute Dussaud's view, they nevertheless regard the Arab god *Nasr* as a solar deity. In the west the eagle was certainly the bird of Zeus, and in certain parts of the Hellenistic world the worship of the latter, together with his symbol, was assimilated to that of the local sun-god. Such syncretism may hold good for Syria, and perhaps North Arabia, but it may not hold in the case of South Arabian remains. We have seen on the gems, above mentioned, and on these newly discovered coins, the association of the eagle in each case with the moon-god cult. Moreover, we find the name *Nasr* in every case (with the one late and probably accidental exception noted above p. 274) construed as a mascu-

³⁴ *Notes de mythologie syrienne*, Paris 1903, pp. 22-23.

line.²⁵ In contrast to this we have several Sabaean inscriptions in which the sun-deity *Shamas* is mentioned, and always as a goddess or *Ba'alat*.²⁶ Thus we may safely draw the conclusion that the divinity *Nasr* of the Arabian inscriptions and of the Koran was in fact an eagle- or vulture-deity, as the name indeed implies, and a tribal moon-god, not a solar goddess.²⁷

What conclusion can be drawn from the presence of the crescent and disk (☾) above the eagle on the British Museum gem? The significance of the symbol has been variously interpreted: (a) as crescent and star (Venus); (b) as crescent and sun-disk; (c) as crescent and full-moon.

An examination of the occurrence of the symbol on South Arabian monuments reveals it in the following contexts:

(a) On an altar dedicated "To *Shārik*". *Shārik* may be an epithet "eastern" applied to some deity, perhaps *ʿAthtar* (*C.I.S.*, *ibid.*, no. 453). Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxxix, p. 235) has pointed out that the word (الشارق) is known to the lexicographers as a Pre-Islamic idol. Moreover it cannot refer to a solar deity, since "sun" in Himyarite is feminine.

²⁵ The name also occurs as the proper name of a man, *Corpus*, iv, no. 434, line 7. For Sabaean inscriptions with dedications to *Nasr* see *Corpus*, *ibid.*, nos. 189, 552-555, and *R.E.S.* no. 4084; for its occurrence on a Lihyanite inscription found at El-Ola (Al-Ula) in North Arabia, see D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, p. 71, Pl. IV.

²⁶ See *Corpus*, *ibid.*, pp. 359 ff.

²⁷ Osiander (*Z.D.M.G.*, vii, p. 475) considered the eagle as a solar goddess; Nielsen, however (*Altarabische Mondreligion*, p. 157), agrees in regarding it as a symbol of the lunar national god, although he looks upon the disk of the symbol ☾ as being a star, presumably Venus (*ibid.*, p. 110), above a crescent moon.

(b) On inscriptions containing the name of *Shamas* (Sun) in compound form, e.g. *C.I.S.*, nos. 226, 285 (where there are distinct traces of rays falling from the disk), 362, 828. Another instance is perhaps on the inscription published by Mordtmann and Mittwoch in *Rathjens-von Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise*, i, pp. 139-140, and ii, p. 111, fig. 73, but the legend is far from certain.

(c) On an altar with mention of the moon-god *Wadd*, as well as of *ʿAthtar*, *Sm*, and *Dhāt Hmī*, the latter a sun-goddess (Glaser, 737; Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, p. 43).

(d) On an altar consecrated to *Wadd* the moon-god (*C.I.S.*, 469).

(e) On a Katabanian altar with mention of the moon-god *ʿAmm* (Grohmann, *ibid.*, p. 40).

(f) On an altar-fragment found in Abyssinia, but which no doubt emanated from the Hadramaut, since it is dedicated to the moon-god *Sin* (whose name incidentally is written sn) (E. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-expedition*, iv, no. 32, p. 60; Grohmann, *ibid.*, p. 41, fig. 96).

(g) On an inscription (*C.I.S.*, 251) in which there is no mention of either sun or moon or star. See also Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 139, 234-239; ii, pp. 111-114; and Ryckmans in *Muséon*, 1937, p. 260.

(h) On the British Museum gem (no. 42) with eagle; on Himyarite coins (see above, figs. 1 and 2) in conjunction with a male head which most probably is that of a deity; and on a Sabaean gem in Berlin along with four animals' heads, horse, goat, sheep, and lion (Grohmann, *ibid.*, p. 40).²⁸

²⁸ There is apparently an eagle, facing right, with open wings

Grohmann, who has discussed the problem (*ibid.*, pp. 37-44), comes to the conclusion that possibly at a late period the symbol had reference to sun-worship. But it is also conceivable, he is compelled to add, that it indicated the moon-godhead, either in conjunction with his daughter, or spouse—the sun-(goddess),—or else with 'Athtar (Ishtar, Astarte), in which case the disk above symbolized the star. The present writer is of the opinion that the evidence summarized above indicates a preponderance in favour of its being a lunar symbol, with occasional astral or solar applications.³⁹ Examples (d), (e), and (f) are especially strong in favour of this view. If we add to this the new evidence of the present coins and the above-mentioned gems (h), it is tantamount to certainty. *The coins* have the moon-god *Sîn*—plus the eagle-god; *the B.M. Gem* has the eagle standing on a lunar crescent with crescent and disk above; while *the Berlin gem*⁴⁰ has the eagle together with a reference to the Katabanian moon-god 'Amm. In each of these cases there is a lunar relationship.

Before we conclude our interpretation of the reverse type there is one minor point that deserves a passing notice. Below the eagle an undulating line will be observed (—). The question arises: Has this any special significance? Or is it simply a base line?

but without inscription on a Himyarite stone in the possession of Kaiky Muncherjee of Aden. See Jaussen's article in the *Revue Biblique*, 1926, Pl. X, no. 3, and XIII, no. 3.

³⁹ It should perhaps be borne in mind in this connexion that in Sabaean the word *Shamas* (sun) has become according to Prof. Ryckmans (i, p. 33) *un terme générique désignant les divinités familiales*.

⁴⁰ Not mentioned by Grohmann.

The presence of a curved line, presumably a lunar crescent below the eagle on the *B.M. gem* mentioned above, suggests that perhaps the present line may have a similar significance. There is, however, just another possibility which suggests itself, namely, that it may represent the well-known curved sign \int on the already published Himyarite coins.⁴¹ It is frequently associated on the Sabaean monuments with the moon-god *Imakah*, so that it would not be out of place in conjunction with other lunar symbolism here.⁴²

The question of an approximate date for these coins may now be ventured. A comparison with the types on Himyarite coins together with the parallels already noted on Roman Imperial coins of Antioch and Alexandria would indicate at the earliest the second century A.D. The epigraphy of the coins rather favours this view. The forms of the letters point to a late date.

Hill⁴³ summed up the extant coinage of Southern Arabia Felix as follows:

- (1) The coinage of the *Sabaean* dynasty, diverging into (a) the *Himyarite* and (b) the *Katabanian*.
- (2) A small separate group, which may be *Minaean*.

The discovery of the above coins enables us to add a new species which we may conveniently term the *Hadramautic*.

JOHN WALKER.

⁴¹ Hill, *ibid.*, p. lvii f.

⁴² For a discussion of this symbol of godhead, or rod of sovereignty and its Babylonian counterpart consult Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, pp. 6-15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiv.



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